4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

113 Telerhof was the largest concentration camp for 'pro-Russians'; at times their number reached 10,000, and about 2000 died during the typhus epidemic. The Austrian authorities later acknowledged that 'among the people arrested in the war zone were many who were arrested by mistake or upon false denunciations'. (See also D. Yavorsky, *Dumy o Rodine* (Thoughts about my Native Land), Lvov, 1923.)

For the relations between the Russian troops and the population, see General A. A. Brusilov, *A Soldier's Note Book*, London, 1930; also Bernard Pares, *My Russian Memories*, London, 1925.

Russian blunders have been described with many exaggerations in Ukrainian 'separatist' literature. For a more balanced view see D. Doroshenko, 'Voyna i Revolutsia na Ukraine', in the periodical *Istorik i Sovremennik* ('War and Revolution in the Ukraine,' in *The Historian and Contemporary*), vols. I–V, Berlin, 1923.

(2) *Biographical Note on Vinnichenko and Petlyura*

643 *Mark Vinnichenko* belonged to the Ukrainian intelligentsia. He failed to complete his studies on account of revolutionary activities which he started when a boy at a Gymnasium and on account of which he had to leave the University of Kiev after his first year.

During the period 1906–14 Vinnichenko wrote novels (in Russian) which were quite widely read. The themes were not political but rather romantic, and the author delighted in the delineation of psychological conflicts which were intended for the imagination of readers who were not too exacting. Vinnichenko had tuberculosis and he seems to have been consumed by an 'inner fever' which can often be observed in persons who are suffering from that malady.

People who knew Vinnichenko do not deny that he possessed a certain honesty of purpose which was generally not one of the distinctive traits of his colleagues in the *Rada*.

Simon Petlyura was quite a different type. He was the son of a simple cabman, but received his education in the Poltava Gymnasium. Later he became a book-keeper in a commercial undertaking in Moscow, and collaborated in a periodical which appeared before the war called *Ukrainian Life* (in Russian). Petlyura belonged to a milieu which produced many capable and energetic men in the years preceding the war. It was such men, for instance, who had created the widespread co-operative movement in Russia. Many representatives of this class worked successfully during the war in the Unions of Towns and the Unions of Zemstvos. In contrast to Vinnichenko, Petlyura was eloquent neither in his speech nor with his pen. He was a man of action and practical capacity rather than a propagandist of ideals. However, unlike many of his more vocal and emotional collaborators, he maintained an irreconcilable attitude towards the Bolsheviks to the end; his assassin, Schwartzbrod, may well have been a (possibly unconscious) agent of the G.P.U.

(3) *The Conflict Between the Rada and the Provisional Government*

113 See Paul Milyukov, *Istoriya Vtoroy Russkoy Revolutsii* (History of the Second Russian Revolution), vols. I–III, Sofia, 1921; Bernard Pares, *The Downfall of the Russian Monarchy*, London, 1939; and other works dealing

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became a *fait accompli* (in 1054) its repercussions in Russia were at first very small.

Before as after, the Russian princes maintained the most intimate relations with the Western courts to which they are bound by marriages. One cannot detect any trace of enmity towards the Western Christians. Quite on the contrary the Igumen Daniel, who goes from Kiev to Jerusalem to pray on the tomb of our Saviour, feels himself fraternally connected with the Francian crusaders who are fighting in the Holy Land. In Kiev itself there are Latin monasteries and the Russian princes make donations to them. The hour has not yet arrived when the aggressive attitude of the western neighbours of Russia will arouse her enmity.

The relations which, at this epoch, existed between Russia and the West were all the more natural as their way of living had many features in common. The princely courts of Russia, with their *drouzhina* (their retainers), their military character cemented by the personal loyalty towards their overlord, their love of feasts, the songs, accompanied by the sound of the *gouslis* and by characteristic gestures, and their chivalrous idealism, all this brought them near to those of the West.

On the other hand, also like the mediæval kingdoms of the West, the Russia of Kiev, although united under St. Vladimir and Yaroslav the Wise, is still far from being a fully united State, such as had existed in Byzantium and as we know it to-day.

Under the protecting power of a prince, who kept outside enemies at bay and maintained order in the interior, the country is composed of a federation of lands and cities who have their rights and privileges and are ruled by their elders and by their popular assemblies, the *vetchi*, which deal directly with the

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prince or with his lieutenant, the *possadnik*, giving this or that assistance in return for various protections.

These autonomous territories, *zemli* and *volosti*, are related to the ancient Slavonic federations which existed before the creation of the State of Kiev. The local dynasties which made their appearance here and there have all disappeared at the moment of the coming of the Varengians. There is not, in the whole of Russia of Kiev, another princely house but that of St. Vladimir. But the regional peculiarities could not be eliminated so easily. And it is thus that the territory of the Polianes becomes the 'Land of Kiev' as such, that of the Severianes the 'Great Land of Tchernigov,' in the west the 'Land of Volynia' retains its own characteristics, while at the foot of the Carpathians, in 'Galicia,' the elements of several tribes are fused. In the north the *volosti* correspond roughly to the old territories of the tribes. Blood relationship definitely ceased to play a role. Instead of the ties of relationship, common interests alone, resulting from being territorial neighbours, are the only ties between the inhabitants of a 'Land.'[1]

On the other hand the economic development of the towns has increased their political importance. It is they who are now at the head of the 'Lands.' The largest city of each of these territories becomes the spokesman of the whole *volost*, although all the inhabitants of the latter can, if they have the means, participate with equal rights in the deliberations of the chief city.

The princely power in Russia is therefore in no way absolute. The conception of a monarchical, unitarian, and hereditary power is not yet born.

The dynastic position is attuned to the customs which

[1] See Map No. 2.

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rule the private life of the Slavonic populations in Eastern Europe. The *whole* land of Russia is the property of the *entire* princely house descended from St. Vladimir, as every Slavonic family which occupies and cultivates a plot of land owns it in common.

The senior of St. Vladimir's descendants will occupy the throne of Kiev and will be, in some ways, the first amongst equals of this family community of princes, as the eldest of a family presides at its discussions and represents it generally. Not the hereditary right, descending to the eldest son, but solely the age of the individual counts, one brother succeeds another, to make room for the oldest among the nephews.

This system, which was established in Russia in the middle of the eleventh century, after the death of Yaroslav the Wise, foresees the breaking up of the country among the members of the reigning house and an almost continuous redistribution of domains, just as in the Slavonic agricultural communities, where redistribution of individual lots took place almost every year. The change of management will be general if the oldest member of the family, the Grand Prince of Kiev, dies. His place will be taken by any prince, even of younger lines, who is the oldest at that moment. In going to Kiev, he cedes the domain which he possessed to the one who is next to him in age, etc.

This typically Slavonic method of government maintained the idea of the unity of the 'Russian Land.' While it was applied, no one branch of the princely house could take root in any given territory and so become the local dynasty of any single part of Russia. That prince who had first received a domain in the far north-east, exchanged it after some years for a richer territory in the south, finally to reach the throne of Kiev, bringing with him his *drouzhina* (retainers), his

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boyars (nobles), and his armed men, who also moved from one end of the country to the other. A town, on the contrary, which was dissatisfied with its present master, called on a prince whose domains were at the farthest confines of Russia, but whose father, formerly having been in their country, was well remembered there.

As long as the old centre of the Russian Land, Kiev, remained prosperous, no princely branch was anxious to enclose itself on its territory and to prefer its interests, except a few more distant branches, who were already for some time localized in far-away territories which had been granted them as permanent domains. All the other princes hoped one day to obtain possession of the best parts of the country and even to reach the throne of Kiev.

This system had the drawback of fomenting various dynastic discords. The princes fought without respite against each other in order to enforce their rights. The ruin of the southern part of Russia, which began in the territory of Kiev, was the inevitable result of these discords. It was this that was understood by the unknown author of the 'Tale of the Companions of Igor'[1] when he implored all the Russian princes to unite their forces against the pagans. In order to keep the commercial routes across the Steppe open and to drive back the nomads, always ready to invade the Russian lands situated in the forest zone, the united forces of the whole of Russia were indispensable. It is thus that St. Vladimir assembled his troops in the north to resist the incursions of the formidable Petcheneges, fierce warriors of the Steppe.

During the twelfth century the routes of the Steppe became more and more dangerous and the incursions

[1] Famous epic poem of the twelfth century which inspired the Opera, *Prince Igor*, of Borodin.

[Ukrainian constitution as of Nov. 21, 1949]

642 s) Direction of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of the Ukrainian SSR, and administration of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of all-Republican importance;

t) Direction of public health and administration of institutions of public health of all-Republican importance;

u) Direction and organization of physical culture and sports;

v) Organization of the judicial organs of the Ukrainian SSR;

w) Granting the rights of citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR;

x) Legislation concerning marriage and the family;

y) Amnesty and pardon of citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Ukrainian SSR;

z) Organization of the military formations of the Ukrainian SSR;

aa) Establishment of the representation of the Ukrainian SSR in international relations.

Chapter III. The Higher Organs of State Power of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

646 Art. 20. The highest organ of state power in the Ukrainian SSR is the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

Art. 21. The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR voting by election districts on the basis of one deputy for every 100,000 of the population.

Art. 22. The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR exercises all rights vested in the Ukrainian SSR in accordance with Articles 13 and 19 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, in so far as they do not, by virtue of the Constitution, come within the jurisdiction of organs of the Ukrainian SSR that are accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, that is, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, and the Ministries of the Ukrainian SSR.

Art. 23. The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR is the sole legislative organ of the Ukrainian SSR.

Art. 24. A law is considered adopted if passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR by a simple majority vote.

[643] Art. 25. Laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR are published over the signatures of the President and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

Art. 26. The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR elects a Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and two Vice-Chairmen.

Art. 27. The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR presides at the sittings of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainain SSR and has charge of the conduct of its business and proceedings.

643 Art. 28. The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary of the Presidium and fifteen members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

1 [CF, cat. 116, p. 2-4--Analyst]

[Ukranian constitution as of Nov. 21, 1949]

643 Art. 29. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR for all its activities.

Art. 30. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR;

b) Issues decrees;

c) Gives interpretations of the laws of the Ukrainian SSR in operation;

d) Conducts nation-wide polls (referendums);

e) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and likewise decisions and orders of the regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, if they do not conform to law;

f) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, releases and appoints Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR;

g) Grants the rights of citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR;

h) Confers titles of honour of the Ukrainian SSR and grants awards;

i) Exercises the right of pardoning citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Ukrainian SSR;

j) Appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Ukrainian SSR to foreign states;

k) Receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states.

643 646 Art. 31. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR twice a year.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR at its discretion or on the demand of one-third of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

646 Art. 32. The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR elects a Credentials Committee to verify the credentials of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

On the report of the Credentials Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR decides whether to recognise the credentials of deputies or to annul their election.

Art. 33. The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of investigation and audit on any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of such commissions and to submit to them all necessary materials and documents.

Art. 34. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, or, when the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

643 646 [666] Art. 35. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR orders new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

[Ukrainian constitution as of Nov. 21, 1949]

643 Art. 36. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of
646 the Ukrainian SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR retains its powers until the newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR shall have formed a new Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

Art. 37. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR is convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR not later than three months after the elections.

645 Art. 38. The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR appoints the Government
[646] of the Ukrainian SSR, namely, the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR.

Chapter IV. The Organs of State Administration of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Art. 39. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Ukrainian SSR is the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR.

Art. 40. The Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

Art. 41. The Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 42. Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR are binding throughout the territory of the Ukrainian SSR.

Art. 43. The Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR:

a) Coordinates and directs the work of the Ministries of the Ukrainian SSR and of other institutions under its jurisdiction; coordinates and verifies the work of the authorized representatives of the all-Union Ministries;

b) Adopts measures to carry out the national-economic plan;

c) Adopts measures to fulfil the state and local budgets of the Ukrainian SSR;

d) Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

e) Directs and verifies the work of the Executive Committees of the regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies;

f) Sets up, whenever necessary, special Committees and Central Administrations under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR for economic and cultural affairs;

g) Directs the organization of the military formations of the Ukrainian SSR;

h) Exercises guidance in the sphere of the relations of the Ukrainian SSR with foreign states, on the basis of the general procedure established by the USSR governing the relations of Union Republics with foreign states.

Art. 44. The Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR has the right to annul decisions and orders of Executive Committees of regional Soviets of Working